

THE  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
AMERICAN AND FOREIGN  
ANTI-SLAVERY-SOCIETY,

Presented at the General Meeting,

HELD IN BROADWAY TABERNACLE, MAY 11, 1847,

WITH THE  
ADDRESSES, RESOLUTIONS, AND TREASURER'S REPORT.

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## ANNUAL MEETING.

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THE Society held its annual meeting in the BROADWAY TABERNACLE, May 11th, 1847. The attendance was large and respectable. The chair was taken at three o'clock, P. M., by the President, ARTHUR TAPPAN.

PROFESSOR WHIPPLE, Corresponding Secretary of the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, read the third Chapter of Zephaniah. Prayer was offered by Elder CHANEY, of the Free Will Baptist denomination.

The ANNUAL REPORT was then read by the acting Corresponding Secretary.\*

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## ANNUAL REPORT.

The Executive Committee, in presenting their Annual Report, have cause, amidst many discouragements, for gratitude, while they congratulate the Society on the aspect and prospects of the anti-slavery enterprise, which meets with the continual smiles of Divine Providence.

During the past year, death has invaded our ranks, and cut down, both here and abroad, those eminent for services and moral worth. With the members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, we mourn the removal of their venerable President, THOMAS CLARKSON, of JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, and other friends of emancipation; and they will participate in our griefs, as we lament the decrease of friends and associates in this country. REV. THEODORE S.

\* Rev. Amos A. Phelps, the Corresponding Secretary, left for the West Indies last November, in quest of health. He arrived at New Orleans, April 18th; had reached Cincinnati, quite feeble, previous to the anniversary, but was unable to reach this city and participate in the services.

WRIGHT, who led the devotional services at the last Anniversary, and who had been a member of the Executive Committee from the formation of the Society, as well as a friend of every good object, has been called from his labors on earth to his reward in heaven. The friends of the oppressed also mourn the death of other devoted champions, among whom mention should be made of Dr. ELS, of Illinois, and N. P. ROGERS, of New Hampshire.

Deprived of the services of the Corresponding Secretary, by sickness and absence in a foreign land, during a large part of the year, the Committee are not able to report the completion of all the plans devised at its commencement. Still, previous to his departure, Mr. Phelps had edited five numbers of the last year's Reporter, in which were discussed some of the vital principles of the cause, and prepared for publication a Liberty Almanac, full of useful and interesting matter.

Had he never written anything else, these publications would be an enduring testimony of the talents, wisdom, skill, philanthropy, and piety, that he consecrated to the service of his oppressed countrymen and fellow-men, in the fear of God. He has, we have just learned, recently arrived at the South, with health somewhat improved, but too feeble to reach this city in season to attend the anniversary.

A German Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1847 was also published, and extensively circulated under the sanction of the Committee, with an elaborate and able original address to those who speak that language in this country, by that eminent scholar, Dr. Carové, of Frankfort, Germany. The Anti-Slavery Reading Room and Depository have been frequented by large numbers, who have had welcome access to the anti-slavery literature, and have witnessed the industry with which the business of the Society has been conducted by the proper agents. Tracts and other publications have been issued by the Committee, from time to time; the last two being a tract entitled "Shall we give Bibles to Three Millions of American Slaves?" and a "Protest and Remonstrance against the Course pursued by the Evangelical Alliance on the subject of American Slavery."

In no year since the commencement of the anti-slavery effort in this country has there been so much discussion on the subject of slavery as during the past year. In the halls of the National and

State Legislatures, in newspapers, in ecclesiastical assemblies, and among the people, the question of slavery has occupied unusual attention. Editors of religious and secular newspapers, who had previously stood aloof, or opposed the anti-slavery cause, have in several instances confessed that public sentiment demanded a discussion of the subject, and, in particular instances, both Democratic and Whig papers have strenuously advocated the cause of the slave.

The introduction of the "Wilmot proviso" in Congress has immortalized the name of the independent Democrat of Pennsylvania, who, with kindred spirits in other States, refused any longer to be the "white slaves" of Southern despots, or to be "driven to the wall," and "nailed down like base money," by the arrogant few who have for so many years usurped the government of this country. The sovereign States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, &c., have solemnly resolved that they are utterly opposed to any further extension of slave territory. Even in New Hampshire, the present dominant party has been obliged to "do homage to the rising spirit of freedom," and become pledged against the extension of human slavery.

The Northern States have at length, under the "stimulus of public opinion received from Abolitionists," become aroused to feel their degradation, the reproach of the country, if not the wrongs of the slave; and it is hoped that no political magician will ever again be able to wave his *compromising* wand over the National Legislature, and induce truckling dough-faces to violate the Constitution and break their plighted faith.

Anti-slavery discussion has not been confined to the halls of Congress or the free States. For a time, C. M. Clay's paper, "The True American," boldly advocated the cause of emancipation in Kentucky. Its subscription list was large, and constantly increasing, and the circulation extending in the slave States as well as the North, when the proprietor, with a senseless ambition, united with the "chivalry" of the South in an attempt to "conquer peace" with Mexico, as if the reputation he might perchance gain as a warrior in such a contest would fit him to be a more popular champion of freedom, should he live to return to Kentucky. It is in contemplation by a band of true-hearted Kentuckians to establish an anti-slavery paper within the limits of their State, under the

editorship of a southern man equally fearless, but more discreet and more wise.

The "Weekly Visiter," at Baltimore, which had devoted a portion of its columns to the anti-slavery cause, with consistency and fearlessness, has been merged in the "National Era," but its late editor is still engaged in promoting the cause in Maryland. A public discussion has been held in Baltimore, for several successive days, on the subject, "Will the abolition of slavery in Maryland tend to its prosperity?" In Delaware, a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery, after having been passed by the House, was rejected in the Senate, only by a tie vote. It is confidently believed that this State will, ere long, be numbered with the free States of the Union.

Many churches and associations of ministers in the free States have adopted excellent resolutions on the subject of slavery. Yet it may be a question whether ecclesiastical bodies, on the whole, are not behind political bodies in opposition to this curse of the country. The New School General Assembly made an advance upon the past, though, as heretofore, on the motion of a northern member, and he a nominal Abolitionist, compliant conservatism prevailed. The Old School General Assembly, after an excited discussion, agreed to stand where it has ever stood, viz. on the ground that slavery is an "evil," but that the *individual practice and support* of it is no bar to a regular standing in the church. Dean Wilberforce, now Bishop of Oxford, has said that the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States bears no voice against slavery. This cannot be said, perhaps, of any other denomination with so much truth. And there ought not to be occasion for its being said, wholly or in part, of *any* denomination, of any general assembly, synod, presbytery, association, consociation, or church, in Christendom.

The celebrated Dr. Arnold, of England, has remarked, "The church is an organization to put down all moral evil, either within her own body or out of it." And an American preacher, of equal celebrity, has declared, "There is no power out of the church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained by it." Shall we, then, repudiate the church? By no means; but we should distinguish between the visible organization and the invisible company of true believers—between the faithful and unfaithful.

Mention has been made of a remonstrance issued by the Committee against the Evangelical Alliance. Efforts were made in the Convention that met in London to exclude slaveholders. Not succeeding in this, an attempt was made to exclude those who, by their own fault, continue such. But the American members of that body prevailed upon the Convention to let slavery alone, saying, that if they made it a ground of exclusion, an ANTI-BRITISH feeling would be raised in this country, which would greatly impede their efforts to form a branch of the Evangelical Alliance free from the contamination of slavery; and pledging themselves to do their duty, as anti-slavery men, on their return to their own country. *How has this pledge been redeemed?* These very men have attempted to form an American branch, that should admit slaveholders who hold slaves, "not by their own fault, or for the sake of their own advantage, but from motives entirely benevolent;" and have determined, while they call slavery a "stupendous evil," to admit to the Alliance slaveholders, if "respectable members of evangelical churches." General Jackson was a member of an evangelical church, and Mr. Clay is said to be; the former was a slaveholder, and so is the latter, not by their own fault, or for the sake of their own advantage merely, as they would say, but from motives of benevolence. General Jackson, then, if living, and Mr. Clay, if still a church member, would be eligible as candidates for admission to the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance!

If in the present state of the church it be, as some allege, impossible or exceedingly inconvenient to decide as to the fitness of men for membership to such an Alliance, in consequence of their connexion with immoralities, why not exclude slaveholders on the ground of *heresy*? The man who attempts to justify slaveholding from the Bible should be considered as unsound in the faith. Ministers of the Gospel who have attempted to discriminate between good and bad slaveholders deserve to be rebuked; and it is gratifying to know that they have been severely rebuked lately by a Christian civilian in the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in this city. Chief Justice Hornblower, the chairman, is reported to have said, "he could not believe that there were any slaveholders from humanity or from necessity. He could not admit the distinction between those who held slaves from love of gain and those who held them from motives of benevolence. He should as soon think

of distinguishing between committing other crimes from motives of benevolence and selfishness. No man could be compelled to hold slaves against his will. The law might compel a man to maintain slaves, but could not compel him to exercise acts of ownership over them."

It has often been asserted that the Abolition excitement has made the condition of the slaves worse. Reasoning from obvious principles, this could not be the case. Still, it is interesting to see southern testimony in opposition to the slanderous assertion. The Presbytery of Charleston, South Carolina, as late as last month, expressed gratification "in observing an increasing interest among the members and ministers of the church for the religious instruction of the colored population." And William Capers, D.D., of the same State, belonging to another denomination, says, in the *Christian Advocate* of February 5th, 1847, "Only think, that where, seventeen years ago, the colored people had been, time out of mind, without the Gospel (instanciing the particular districts) there, at the present time, they are more fully served than elsewhere in the country."

It is pleasing to notice the developments made by the colored race, and the refutation given to the calumnies uttered against their endowments and capacities. Men, who have been slaves, are demonstrating to the world their ability not only for self-government, but as models and teachers for the Anglo-Saxon race. One of those Americans, called "Africans," has recently returned from a voyage to England, after addressing numerous assemblies, and receiving the hospitality of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, and demonstrating there, as he had here, his capacity as a man and his gifts as an orator. His eloquent voice has this day been heard in this place, by a multitude of delighted hearers, who have listened to his appeal, "Am I not a man and a brother?" It is a source of high gratification that the free people of color are gradually gaining their rights as men and as citizens, and giving their children advantages of education. And it is honorable to them that the recent munificent gift of land by Mr. GERRIT SMITH has been to so many an incentive to become cultivators of the soil.

We would make honorable mention of a society that exists in this country, for the purpose of promoting the use of free-labor produce only. "As a personal and standing testimony against slavery, it is already producing excellent moral effects."



The inquiry, made at an early period after the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society in this country, has recently been renewed—"Shall we give Bibles to three millions of American slaves?" An affirmative answer is made. The question is exciting discussion. A growing sentiment prevails, that "all men have a clear right to know the truth—to receive instruction—to have free access to the oracles of God." What bishop, presbyter, elder, deacon, church member, or Bible society will deny it! The injunction, "Search the Scriptures," proceeded from the lips of the Savior of the world. It is a heaven-granted right to every inhabitant of the land. Who is he that dares "to turn aside the right of a man before the face of the Most High?"

The Legislature of Pennsylvania, most unexpectedly, but nobly, have removed the last vestige of slavery from the laws of the State; it has insured the safety of the free people of color, while the violent or deceptive abduction of fugitives is guarded against. The privilege, heretofore enjoyed by Southern masters, of holding slaves six months in the State, is entirely taken away; and, as in Massachusetts and other free States, the slave voluntarily brought within the State becomes immediately free. This legislative act is the more cheering, in consequence of the retrograding act of the Supreme Court of the United States, in its recent decision in the Van Zandt case, in which the cause of freedom was so ably but unsuccessfully advocated by Mr. Chase, of Ohio, and Governor Seward, of New York. In view of the decisions of this tribunal, composed chiefly of slaveholders, may not the poor slave exclaim, with bitterness of soul, "Judgment is far from us, neither doth Justice overtake us. \* \* Judgment is turned away backward, and Justice standeth afar off; for Truth is fallen in the streets, and Equity cannot enter. \* \* \* Therefore the law is slacked, and Judgment doth never go forth; for the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore, wrong judgment proceedeth."

The establishment of an anti-slavery newspaper at the City of Washington, under the management of an able and discreet editor, is a subject of congratulation. It is edited with taste and ability, without compromise; and, if adequately sustained, promises to be extremely useful. The introduction of the Wilmot proviso, the discussions in Congress on the subject of slavery and the freedom of the press, the acts of State Legislatures, and the growing

anti-slavery sentiment of the country, have, under God, protected the paper from violence; and the patience, confidence, liberality, and prayers of its friends are invoked with respect to this new and important plan for the maintenance and diffusion of right principles at the seat of Government. In connexion with the paper, the Committee had in view the issuing of other publications, and the employment of a living agency in several of the States. The funds contributed are insufficient to carry out the whole plan, but, in addition to the publications already issued, others are contemplated, and aid has been furnished for sustaining lecturers and agents.

After this rapid glance at the progress of the cause in this country, we turn with heartfelt gratification to some notice of the doings of fellow-laborers in other parts of the world. The able Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and their efficient Secretary, are steadily and zealously pursuing the great object before them. Their periodical, the Reporter, is a valuable register of intelligence and documents, and a powerful advocate of the rights of man. The Committee exercise a watchful eye over the acts of their Government and the Colonial Legislatures; they institute inquiries in various parts of the world, and suggest many measures for the protection of the oppressed, and to hasten the downfall of the slave trade and of slavery. They recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown; and have sent to this country some beautiful specimens of plain and printed cotton goods manufactured solely from free-labor cotton.

We are concerned to state that the slave trade continues to be prosecuted with unabated vigor and atrocity on various parts of the African coast. American vessels, chartered for a different purpose, in our own harbors, get rid of their cargoes on the passage, and then freight with slaves. This is done with the most daring impunity. British and French cruisers are active and zealous in endeavors to suppress the traffic, while American cruisers, formerly on the coast, have been, since the commencement of the present war, ordered to the Gulf of Mexico. Before they left, a few slave ships were captured by them, and the piratical masters were sent home for trial. Some of them were convicted and sentenced, but pardons were soon obtained of the President of the

United States, while the compassionate Torrey was suffered to die in a penitentiary, surrounded by felons, for assisting a few slaves to effect their escape from a slave State.

The British Government has notified all its functionaries residing in foreign countries, that it would be unfitting that any officer holding an appointment under the British Crown should, either directly or indirectly, hold or be interested in slave property. The Government has forbidden such functionaries from administering on the estates of deceased persons in cases in which slaves form part of the property of the deceased. The Government has also remonstrated, with effect, against the laws in force in the slave States, which subject British-born colored persons resorting to them in their lawful business to imprisonment, and under some circumstances to be sold as slaves.

Within a short period there has been received in this country, "A Friendly Address from British Christians to the Ministers and Elders of the American Presbyterian Church who bore a Faithful Testimony against Slavery in the late General Assembly at Philadelphia." The address bears the signatures of eight hundred persons, many of them highly distinguished ministers and officers of churches of various denominations, magistrates, &c. Not a few of the names are well known in this country—John Pye Smith, J. Howard Hinton, John Angell James, Thomas Swan, William Jay, Robert Jowitt, Robert Moffat, jun., James Montgomery, Joseph T. Price, Adam Black, John Dick, Ralph Wardlaw, &c. They say, "We beseech you, dear brethren, to persevere in your righteous agitation, till the object is achieved. Cease not to expose the enormity of the crime of buying and selling a fellow-creature; of reducing a human being, endued with an immortal soul, to the level of an ox or an ass. \* \* \* Bring the powerful influence of church discipline to bear upon the slaveholder. Deal with him as with a man-stealer or a profane person. Exhort him to forsake his wickedness, and repent. And if he refuse to hear the church, let him be unto you as a heathen man and a publican."

Steps are being taken by Denmark for the abolition of slavery in her West India colonies. The Legislature has passed a resolution requesting the King to lay before the States a project of a law for a complete emancipation of the slaves. Petitions to the

French Chambers, for the immediate abolition of slavery in the colonies, are pouring in, and a new periodical is to be established in Paris, to advocate immediate and entire abolition. The Sultan of Turkey, and his vassal, Mehemet Ali, of Egypt, have abolished slavery. Emancipation has taken place in Bohemia, so far as the victims belonged to the State, the church, and the secular clergy of that country. "We trust," says the British Reporter, "that this is the beginning of a movement in the north of Europe, which shall issue in the complete abolition of every form of compulsory servitude."

In view of the efforts that are being made by the friends of humanity and the equal rights of man, to deliver the civilized and semi-barbarous world from the guilt of slaveholding, with what shame must an American citizen hang his head, when he considers that a sanguinary war is now carried on by the Government of his country, to extend the limits of slavery. Thousands of lives are sacrificed on the field of battle and in hospitals, and tens of millions of treasure are lavished, to force Mexico to relinquish territory that may be added to the slaveholding portions of this country; and this in the nineteenth century!! Let every true-hearted American, every friend of peace, of justice, of national honor, of religion, exclaim, in reference to such an infernal war, and of its authors and supporters, "O MY SOUL, COME NOT THOU INTO THEIR SECRET; UNTO THEIR ASSEMBLY, MINE HONOR, BE NOT THOU UNITED!"

In conclusion, it is obvious that the contest between freedom and slavery is waxing hotter and hotter in this country. The crisis is at hand. We are either to be a slaveholding nation or a nation of freemen. The slumbering energies of the free States are aroused, and the days of slavery, we trust, will soon be over. This country will not be suffered to sink into barbarism, nor to be ruled much longer by a few thousand despots, who have torn the Constitution into shreds, and sworn eternal enmity to the doctrine of the equality of man, upon which this Government was erected. Let us persevere, then, with united counsels and action, and the requiem will soon be sung over departed Despotism, while Liberty will be proclaimed throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

By order of the Executive Committee.

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Acting Corresponding Secretary.*

## ADDRESSES.

S. P. ANDREWS, Esq., late of Boston, now of this city, and formerly a resident of Texas, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*—That we hail with fraternal respect and sympathy brethren in foreign lands who are laboring for the downfall of slavery and its natural ally, the slave trade, and who mourn with us over the prevalence and extension of slavery in this land of boasted freedom and equality, while it is nearly banished from other parts of the civilized world, and even from semi-civilized countries; and that, while we assure them of our uncompromising and determined opposition to slavery, and our entire confidence in its ultimate extinction in this country, we earnestly bid them God speed in their labors to put an end to it throughout the world.

He said he wished to state one or two reasons why slavery should be forthwith abolished. One is, that slavery is now more than ever an incongruity with the spirit of the age—the overlapping of the period of barbarism on the era of civilization—and all things which are incongruous are more unendurable from that fact. Another reason was, that, in proportion to the enterprise, wealth, and intelligence of the slaveholder was the endurance of the slave. In a barbarous state of society, the hardness of the general lot rendered the wretched condition of the slave less revolting. But in this age, in the United States of America, there was everything on all hands to remind the slave of the incongruity of his position. American slaves are rapidly progressing in intelligence and moral culture, and there are many of them that have cultivated sensibilities which their ancestry had not. The slave who goes to Alabama, from Carolina, meets the slaves from other States (and it is a fact that the more intelligent slaves are those who have come from near the free States); and when they go further South, they instruct and teach their less fortunate brethren. Ten years ago, in Alabama, it was considered a sign of insurrection for a slave to have more than one name. Now, in the South, they have a name and a surname—a concession which at first sight would seem a small matter, but it is not when we reflect upon it as one of the results of the emigration from the more northerly slave States to the southerly.

He then instanced the case of a man in Alabama, who asserted that there was not an abolitionist in the State of Alabama, and that an abolitionist could not live there; yet the person to whom he

made the assertion was an abolitionist, and his own partner had manumitted his slave ! (Applause.)

Rev. HENRY H. GARNET, pastor of the Colored Congregational Church, Troy, N. Y., then offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That we lament and pity the ignorance, wickedness, delusion, and impolicy, of our countrymen who hold their fellow-men in slavery, and those who, with still greater folly and criminality, not being slaveholders, uphold the accursed system, by false doctrine, evil example, political subserviency, ecclesiastical expediency, treachery to liberty, or love of gain, while we conjure them to remember the prohibition and warning in Holy Writ, "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him: Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry; and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless."

He said that the resolution placed in his hands, considered worthy the consideration of every Christian and friend of truth. There is no passage in the whole Bible that should be looked upon with greater care, and which oppressors of every kind should regard with greater scrutiny, than that uttered by the Son of God. When he saw an opportunity to imprint on the minds of those before him what he wished, he said, "With what judgment ye judge, ye also shall be judged," &c. If this has been the case with Africa, as it has been, who knows but that America, this proud, favored, and exalted America, shall yet look towards that stricken Africa, extend her bony hand, and shake it with that of her afflicted sister. There is a bright side and a dark side to the question of slavery. He would have no man, who called himself Abolitionist, who had shown himself on the battle field of slavery, to say less of the political or religious feelings of the country; but while much is said of these things, he would have more said of the hope that is rising every day, more allusion made to that great spirit which is descending from the skies. It becomes us to look on the fair side of this question. He then spoke of Northern apologists and Southern aggressionists, and said that, in the appointments to offices, the South had had the lion's share; but how did it arise? The South loves power, and the Southern man says, "Give me a good office, make my name conspicuous, and you may do what you choose." Brother Jonathan says, "Give me the money, and you may have the power." Hence, he argued, the North was more criminal than the South, and received more

than its share of the avails of slavery. The war with Mexico was another proof of it. Who make the bullets and the powder cartridges, the ramrod and the shot? The South? No: the Yankees make them, and put the money in their pockets. Who make the broadcloth and cotton? The North. Yet the North says that slavery is a horrible thing in the abstract, but it sanctions and sustains it for interest's sake.

The Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT followed. He said that he would not charge the Committee with the resolution which he had to offer; but he asked the attention of the assemblage to it. It condemned in pointed terms the conduct of the Evangelical Alliance, and pledged the Society to the great work of disseminating the Bible amongst the slaves.

*Resolved*—That, while we devoutly recognise the hand of God in directing the attention of so many of his people to a systematic effort for supplying the slaves with the Bible, we earnestly call upon all Christians for a prompt and zealous co-operation in this movement, as the true alliance to which the American churches are bound to devote themselves, and in which all of every name can unite; as a work which must be done, and which ought to be now begun; as a work which never will be done until it is begun; and as a work in which we may confidently look for God to open the door as soon as we are prepared to occupy the field.

The question has arisen, said the reverend speaker, when is the Gospel to abolish slavery in this land? Nay, the question is still unsolved, when is it to begin its work? When is it to lay the first brick in its edifice of freedom for the African slave? When is it to begin to lay out its work? Where is its trestle-board? Where is its engineer? Where is the man who will stand up before the American churches, and ask them if they will do this—if they will abolish slavery through the instrumentality of the Gospel? Who is there that will speak to them so that they must hear and act? That voice is yet to address itself to the ear of the American people. We all agree that the Bible is the charter of our liberties. The Bible goes all over the land, and does it carry liberty? We have been a nation seventy years—a longer period than most of us have lived—and all that time we have had the Bible, and all that time slavery has been gathering strength, extending its dominion, concentrating its power, until at this moment it presides without a challenge over the government of these United States, involving us in a war, openly and avowedly designed for its advantage—a war

of which no statesman can see the end, and no financier can calculate the cost. According to all human appearance, slavery, looking at it by itself, never was so well able to protect itself; never was so mighty to destroy its foes; never was so potent to extend its domain, as at this moment. And yet you tell us that the Gospel is to abolish slavery! Will you then conclude that we have no Gospel? I ask you, then, to answer this other question, How came we ourselves to be free, and enlightened, and civilized, and socially happy, if we have no Gospel? If our ministry is the ministry of Satan, and if our religious associations are but a brotherhood of thieves, I ask, How came we here? Why are we not what our ancestors were when they roamed as painted savages? Sir, that is not the answer; that is not the solution; that does not help us out of the difficulty. If we have not got the Gospel, where is the Gospel? Where can we go to find the Gospel by its fruits, if we have it not? The simple truth is, we have in one essential particular forsworn the Protestant faith; we have denied the Bible to the slaves! (Applause.) That solves the whole difficulty. We have turned our back upon God's word; and he loves and honors his word too much to allow us to succeed in our efforts to evangelize the country, so long as we keep the Bible from the common people.

We have the testimony of men from all the slave States in the Union, that the Bible is generally, and systematically, and intentionally, withheld from the slaves; and yet we wonder that the Gospel does not abolish slavery! If we had begun seventy years ago to give the Bible to the slaves, the Bible would have lifted them from that degradation, almost of brutality, into which we have pressed them. The Bible would have brought these poor slaves within the compass of human sympathy, so that the world would have cared for them as it cares for the starving Irish. If they had had the Bible, the world would long since have begun to overlook the dark complexion which God has marked upon them, and would have recognised them as men. But how are we to give the slaves the Bible? "Oh! it is a thing that cannot be done!" exclaims a multitude, when the first step has not been taken to try whether it can be done. Was it ever known in the history of God's dealings with his people, that he let them do a thing unless they tried to do it? The mainspring of all Christian effort is faith; and he will not open the door for us until he sees in us the evidence of that



faith which becomes us as followers of Christ. The other day, I asked a distinguished doctor of divinity whether he thought the Gospel was competent to abolish slavery in the United States? "Why, no," says he; "society is too far gone to be reached by the Gospel! Its remedial powers can never restore a state of society fallen into such a hopeless state of dissolution as that of the Southern States of this Union." Well, then, said I, what remains? "Nothing but St. Domingo!" was his answer. And if you look at it in the light of human philosophy, in the light of history, no man can gainsay that answer. But if you look at it in the light of Christian faith, it was a shameful answer. (Applause.) The man who believes that Jesus Christ has the government upon his shoulders, for the very purpose of renovating the world, could not entertain the idea that the Bible, which had renovated the Sandwich Islands and the Hottentots, which had made even the painted Picts of the British Islands what we are, was not adequate to the work of renovating the half of the States of this Republic. (Applause.)

What we want, then, is faith. It is always God's way to summon his people to faith first and action afterwards. How was it when we first commenced the work of foreign missions? When those young men prayed and wrestled with God behind the hay-stack, and besought him that he would open the way for them to engage in the work of foreign missions? There was no door open. There was no country calling for missions. And when the churches took up these young men, and sent them out to India, there was no door open; and when they reached Calcutta, were they not ordered to return immediately? But they persevered till God opened the door. So when they went to the Sandwich Islands, they went in faith. And when they got there, they found that the people had destroyed their idols, and were ready to receive the Gospel. Sir, it was so in the olden time! When the chosen people of God were encamped upon the very borders of Canaan, Jordan rolled his tempestuous flood between them and the promised land. It seemed as if there were to be an access to the rich fields of Canaan. The swollen stream overflowed all its banks. There was no opening. They might have sat in their tents, waiting for the river to run by, like other fools, for ever; but they had faith, and, taking up the Ark of the Covenant, marched onward to the river's bank. Then, just as the priests' feet dipped in the margin of the river, the waves

subsided, and they went through dry-shod ! Now, let us in that temper and spirit meet the question of giving the Bible to the slaves ; and it will be a new thing in the history of the Divine Administration, if we being found ready to act, God is not ready to have us act. (Applause.)

Why should we not give the Bible to the slaves ? I grant you there are things which look discouraging. I grant that it is a painful fact, that, in this city of New York, a great assembly of Christian ministers have disowned their own testimony in favor of the right of all men to have the Bible. But what of that ? This handful of ministers are not all creation. (Laughter.) They have not taken away our Bible. They have not robbed us of our Saviour. They cannot stand between us and duty, no more than they can stand between us and judgment. Let us do our duty, and leave them to meet their responsibility as we must meet ours. Why, the very idea of giving the Bible to the slave, proposed as a measure of Christian union, is electrical. The time is not distant when it will thrill through the whole of these free States, aye, and run largely into the slave States, like a voice from Heaven, whose accents none can mistake, and whose admonition none can resist. (Applause.)

How are we to give the Bible to the slaves ? Give it to them ; there is no other way ! (Applause.) There is no royal road to the work. Only put the slaves in the category of humanity, and give them the Bible. Will they not then have the Bible ? Where will you begin ? Begin where you can. How will you proceed ? Proceed as God will open the way ! But do not say you cannot go on. Let the voice of the American churches go up disavowing the disavowal of that conference to which I have alluded, (Applause ;) and withal put a little money into the treasury of the American Bible Society, in order to assure them that they cannot draw too fast on that repository. (Applause.) Let them know that they will be sustained, and they will give the Bible. I have a sermon of President Young, printed by the Church at Danville, in which he maintains most earnestly the duty of giving the slaves the Bible. He says there is no law in his State against it ; and if there were, it should be regarded just as a law forbidding us to feed the hungry and clothe the naked should be regarded. (Applause.) That's good old school orthodoxy in Kentucky ! (Applause.) I wish I could believe that there was equal orthodoxy in every pulpit

in New York. (Loud applause.) There are six slaveholding States which have no law against giving the Bible to the slaves. Nothing stands in the way, only you have not done it.

It is said that the slaves cannot read the Bible. Ah! Did you ever know an instance in which, after the Bible was distributed in any community, they did not learn to read it? But it is said that public opinion in the South is potent against giving the Bible to the slaves. Now, this public opinion terrifies you, just because you are afraid of it! This is all the terror that is in it. It is in your own bosom. It has none in its own magnitude or power. But suppose we now come to the States where there is a law against giving the Bible to the slaves; and then we come down to South Carolina. There, there are stringent laws against teaching the slaves to read, and against giving them the Bible. But, then, Dr. Fuller tells us that, in the very centre of the slave-power; in the district, represented in Congress by Robert B. Rhett, he most industriously violates the law, and challenges inquiry. These laws are a terror, not to evil-doers, but to well-doers. There is not a prison in the South that could hold a hundred Christian men, or especially a hundred Christian women, incarcerated for the crime of teaching a slave to read the Bible. The doors would fly open of their own accord, as did those of Peter's prison. (Applause.) These laws are an imaginary terror. Let us set about this work in faith, and, unless all the principles of the Divine Government fail, God will be glorified, and the Gospel will burst the bonds of the slave! (Loud applause.)

Rev. W. W. PATTON,\* of Hartford, offered the following resolution, accompanied by the subjoined remarks:

*Resolved*, That the discussions and action of the Evangelical Alliance at London, and of the American Branch recently formed in this city, impress us with the painful conviction, that the views of a large portion of the American ministry and laity are still radically defective as to the criminality of slaveholding, and as to the course which the disciples of Christ should pursue with regard to slaveholders.

The 19th of August, 1846, was a memorable day—memorable, not because it marked the date of some splendid victory obtained over combined numbers and skill, upon land or sea; not as indicating the birth of a mighty nation, then for the first time assert-

\* Son of William Patton, D.D., of this city,

ing her independence ; but memorable because it witnessed the assembling of 1200 followers of Christ, representing fifty different ecclesiastical connexions, to declare, defend, and manifest a great truth ; to wit, the essential unity of all who love the Savior. There was moral sublimity in the scene, when these Christians, meeting on the ground of a common gospel, forgot their differences, and remembered only their relation to one and the same Redeemer. To manifest and promote Christian union, they organized the Evangelical Alliance. It is not for me to express an opinion on this occasion as to the wisdom of that measure. It may secure all that its projectors desire, or it may result much as we are told the operations of a French king did. Suffice it to say, that the proceedings were marked with great unanimity and love, so long as they confined themselves to the *theory* of Christianity. They prayed, they sang, they shed tears of joy, and finally agreed to *believe* nine important articles, composing an Evangelical Creed. But at last they were called to look *practical* Christianity in the face. They were to form a union of Christians ; should they receive and fellowship those who claim and hold their fellow-men as property ? This was the knotty question. Here, alas ! where it should most have been found, unanimity ceased. The American members insisted that the question should not be entertained, and they succeeded in sealing the lips of the Alliance on that subject, and in leaving the door open to all slaveholders.

How are we to account for this action of the American delegates ? It will not be difficult, when we remember, 1st, that, with a few exceptions, they were the old opposers of the anti-slavery cause, technically so called—the men who from the pulpit, through the press, and in ecclesiastical bodies, have denounced our doctrines as false, and our measures as mischievous. I do them the justice to admit that they maintained their consistency across the water. 2d, They had an important object to secure—to prevent an implied condemnation of the course which they had pursued at home. [Applause.] If the Alliance excluded slaveholders, it would endorse abolition principles, and thus by implication condemn those who, in the American Board and elsewhere, had contended for their admission to the church and pulpit. I do not impeach their honesty, but I mourn over the tendency of their views.

*What did they urge?* 1st, That the subject was foreign to their object. It has become common to represent abolitionists as thrusting in the subject where it does not belong; but the accusation is slanderous. We only contend that truth is one, and consistent with itself—that each department of benevolent action should recognise every other, and as each society meets slavery *in its appropriate field*, it should carry out anti-slavery principles. We contend that the Alliance meets slavery necessarily in deciding upon the qualifications for fellowship. They exclude some for errors of creed, why not slaveholders for errors of life? Personal holiness has as much claim as doctrinal purity; and a heretical practice is as bad as a heretical belief. The alliance, moreover, did turn aside from the subject of union to condemn infidelity, Romanism, and Sabbath desecration. (See § 4, resolution 4, of published proceedings.)

2d, They urged that by excluding slaveholders, they would exclude some true Christians. But suppose they did, exceptions will always occur under general rules, and extreme cases may suffer, as they did in the Mosaic requirement of at least two witnesses to prove a charge. Moreover the Alliance did exclude real Christians as it was, to wit, Evangelical Quakers, etc. And to heighten their inconsistency, they do not profess to include all Christians, but only “persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance;” so that they have actually decided that it is “*desirable*” to fraternize slaveholders!

The American branch has followed in the footsteps of the General organization, refusing even to discriminate between different kinds of slaveholders, and contenting themselves with declaring it to be “a stupendous evil.” Now a famine is an evil; so is an earthquake, a pestilence, and a storm. They could not even call it a moral evil, so as to imply guilt, but couched their declaration in vague and meaningless terms. And this is the result. The Quaker, the Seventh-day Baptist, and all who are not actually *members* of Evangelical churches, must be excluded, while the slaveholders with the brand of robbery upon his brow, is welcomed and fraternized! This is the union formed—a union which overlooks practical godliness, and requires only assent to abstract tenets! It is contrary to the New Testament, which makes *the life* the grand and only decisive test. With such a basis the Al-

hance must perish, yea, is already perishing. Their pro-slavery decision was a suicidal act.

Rev. S. WARD, of Cortlandtville, N. Y.,\* next addressed the meeting. He offered the following resolution :

*Resolved,* That in view of the wide diffusion of anti-slavery information throughout the country, and the thorough discussions the iniquitous system of slavery is undergoing, we have great cause of thankfulness to Him who has caused light to spring up to those which sat in the region and shadow of death, who maketh the wrath of man praise him, and who encourages us to labor with unabated zeal by the gracious assurance that the Lord taketh part with those who plead the cause of the poor and needy.

He remarked that this had certainly been a discussion not courted by the American public. When that cause was first presented, but fifty-two living men and three living women were found to unite in the work. He described in an eloquent manner the violent outrages and mobs which marked the first agitation of the cause in this city. Scorn and proscription and contumely met its friends on every hand at that day. But men had been obliged to listen to the discussion of the question in the halls of Congress during last winter—not because they had willed it, but because there was a God in Israel. That was a most significant indication that the discussion could not be prevented. Discussion was all that was desired. What was the grand issue? What was the reason of the mobs and conflagration and assassinations of other years? The offence was in believing that the Declaration of Independence was a matter of fact, and not a fiction. That was the only issue; and the great question whether the principles of the Declaration of Independence are to be transmitted to future generations, was yet unsettled.—The question whether Liberty or Slavery were to prevail was yet unsettled. It never would be settled until it would be decided whether slavery was to remain. He concluded by a most eloquent exhortation to renewed devotion to the hallowed cause of Liberty.

The entire proceedings of this Anniversary were marked by great unanimity and spirit. Much interest was added to the occasion by the fine singing of three amateurs, who executed several appropriate odes in an eminently tasteful and skilful style.

\* Mr. Ward is pastor of a white congregation.

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.

The following resolutions were offered by Lewis Tappan, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, and were unanimously adopted :—

*Resolved*—That we sympathize with the kindred and friends of the lamented Thomas Clarkson, and of all who have been called, since the last anniversary, from their labors on behalf of the oppressed ; and in view of the mighty work before us, and the admonitions of Divine Providence that our time on earth is short, we would dedicate afresh our faculties and resources to the cause of emancipation, in humble dependence upon the God of the oppressed, and with firm reliance that his promises of mercy and interposition on their behalf will be fulfilled.

*Resolved*—That the absurd discrimination sought to be made between those who persevere in holding slaves, “not by their own fault, or for the sake of their own advantage, but from motives entirely benevolent, and those who hold their fellow creatures in bondage for the sake of gain,” is unworthy of the countenance of the church of Christ, or the friends of sound morality, and deserves the reprobation of the wise and good in “Church and State.”

*Resolved*—That the avowal that the Bible sanctions American slavery is blasphemous and heretical ; that it tends to drive men into infidelity ; that it should be thus considered in every “doctrinal basis” formed to promote union among Christians ; and that no slaveholder ought to be fellowshipped as a Christian, because of the countenance he affords to immorality and heresy.

*Resolved*—That it is the right of every individual man, throughout the world, bond or free, to possess and read the Bible, and obey it for himself, under his responsibility to God, who has given him that revelation to be a lamp to his feet and a light to his path ; that it is the right of every man to enjoy the rest of the Lord’s day, to be protected in his family relations, to enjoy the fruits of his own labor, to educate his children, and to sit under his own vine and fig-tree, without any to make him afraid.

*Resolved*—That we view with peculiar satisfaction the establishment of the “National Era” at the seat of government ; and that we recommend to all the friends of impartial liberty to sustain this paper, without abating their liberal support of other anti-slavery papers, in the expectation that ere long it will be published daily, and long continue an ornament to the press, and a powerful auxiliary to the cause of human rights.

*Resolved*—That we rejoice in the fact that there are “conscience Whigs,” “independent Democrats,” and influential scholars and Christians, who are aroused to the claims of the oppressed and to the rights of the free States—who feel the reproach resting upon the nation and the church—who are breaking away from ecclesiastical and political thralldom—who have the magnanimity to confess, that whereas they once spoke “gingerly” about

the domestic institutions of the South, they have learned from the "Abolition party" to "call things by their right names, and to speak out, with refreshing boldness, of the curse of slavery;" and that we cordially invite them to unite with the liberty party, in bearing a testimony against slavery at the ballot-box, and in withstanding the encroachments of the slaveocracy of this country.

*Resolved*—That we recommend to the Executive Committee to publish the laws relating to slavery in the different slave States; the slave laws now in force in the District of Columbia; a work on the agriculture and mechanic arts of the slave States as compared with the free States; an anti-slavery periodical for children and youth; a series of tracts, in which the principles and measures of the Anti-Slavery Association shall be clearly and forcibly stated and recommended; and a re-publication of the Essays on the Power of Congress over slavery in the District of Columbia, and the View of the Action of the Federal Government in Behalf of Slavery.

*Resolved*—That we rejoice in the existence and prosperity of Home and Foreign Missionary Associations, that carry an uncorrupt Gospel to the destitute, that will correct the notion that a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of Christianity will avail, without enforcing their application to all the relations of life; that will send missionaries to preach the practice of justice to rulers and oppressors, liberty to the captive, equal and impartial freedom to all men; that will sustain ministers and missionaries who are persecuted on account of anti-slavery preaching; and that will uphold both tables of the law of God.

*Resolved*—That we look upon the existing war being waged by this country against Mexico, for the support and extension of slavery, with unmingled abhorrence: that no victories won during its continuance can add true glory to the nation or the combatants; that we believe, in the language of Jefferson, "the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest;" and that we fervently hope that peace will speedily be restored to both the invading and invaded nation, leaving each in the enjoyment of its original rights and territory, with not a foot of free Mexican soil converted into an area for the extension of American slavery.

*Resolved*—That those editors and ministers of the Gospel who have fearlessly written and lifted up their voices against this wanton, cruel, and pro-slavery war, deserve the thanks of the Christian community; and that we believe it is the duty of every preacher in the land, and of every editor of a public journal, to denounce the war as a reproach to the country, a disgrace to humanity, a libel on free political institutions, and an insult to God.

*Resolved*—That, while we would not relax our efforts to move the hearts and consciences of men by direct moral suasion, we most cordially approve the principles of the liberty party of the United States; that we rejoice in



the increase of its numbers and influence ; in its determination, under no circumstances, to vote for a slaveholder to fill any office ; and that we commend that a National Convention be held, at a suitable time, to select candidates for the high offices of President and Vice-President, who will unite the suffrages of those who have already broken away from the two great political parties, and those who will forsake them, determining no longer to follow a multitude to evil.

After another ode had been sung, the assemblage broke up, full of hope and rejoicing.

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### THE PUBLIC BREAKFAST OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.\*

THE public breakfast of this Society was given on Wednesday morning, in the Lecture-room of the Tabernacle. Between four and five hundred ladies and gentlemen were present, including the families of many of our most respectable citizens. Owing to the admirable arrangements of the Committee, and the excellent personal management of Messrs. Tappan, Harned, Jocelyn, and others, the whole affair was conducted in the most agreeable manner. It is true, that no costly services of plate shone upon the festive board, nor did fashion play off any of her fantastic airs. No shallow-brained aristocracy of the sugar hogshead or the stock exchange, apeing the hauteur of London or Parisian circles, "graced" the occasion with their presence. But Christian charity was there, arrayed in her simple robes of celestial purity ; and the intelligence and warmth of sound heads and honest hearts, united in a great work of love, and mercy, and justice, gave to that plain repast an interest and value rarely if ever possessed by the richest banquets in the palaces of earth !

LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., was called on to preside, and, after the substantial "comforts" had been disposed of, called the company to order for the intellectual part of the entertainment. This was most appropriately commenced by the reading of the following thrilling lines, received by the Chairman from the authoress, now in her 78th year, with the remark, "Written for a Bazaar at Philadelphia, for the anti-slavery cause, in the autumn of 1847, Norwich, England :"

\* Taken from a report for the *National Era*.

## TO AMERICA.

Welcome, beyond the utmost power  
 Of words to speak, the day will be,  
 When, dear America! thy sons  
 The colored race as brethren see!  
 When, in the holy house of prayer,  
 With you, they then as equals kneel,  
 That house the only one on Earth  
 Where all men should as equals feel.

Beneath that roof of *equal rights*,  
 If tears of deep repentance fall,  
 Whether from white or black man's eyes,  
 They please alike the Lord of All!  
 The tints of those who pray to Him  
 He heeds not, be they black or bright;  
 He only sees the *suppliant's heart*,  
 Content if *that* be pure, and *white*!

AMELIA OPHE.

## TO AMERICA.

Fair is thy land, America, and free!  
 Thy flag floats proudly o'er the bounding waves;  
 But, hark! what sounds come o'er the Atlantic sea?  
*The groans, the shrieks, alas! of tortured slaves.*

AMELIA OPHE.

We need hardly say that these lines were received with the most enthusiastic and grateful applause.

The Rev. NATHANIEL COLVER then addressed the company in a speech marked by great eloquence and feeling. He exhorted his auditors to renewed zeal and devotion to the cause. In terms of just severity, he denounced the war with Mexico, exposing the folly and absurdity of those who, while they affected to condemn the war, yet commended the bravery of the soldiers who were engaged in its prosecution. He asked what was the duty of the genuine patriot in such a crisis? We must all be politicians, said he, religious politicians. I am not ashamed of the term religious politicians, however offensive it may be to some polite ears. (Laughter and applause.) I am a religious politician. I'll pray politics, I'll preach politics, I'll vote politics! (Applause.) Since this war with Mexico commenced, I have felt more than ever the necessity of firmness on the part of anti-slavery men. (Applause.) The talk of the conservative power of virtue in political parties is

idle as the wind. He concluded by a most fervent and powerful exhortation to the great work of giving the Bible to the slaves.

Dr. SNODGRASS, of Baltimore, was then introduced to the meeting, and was received with loud applause. He expressed his satisfaction at being present on that occasion. Five years ago, if any one had foretold such a meeting, he would have been set down as neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet. This was the first time he had ever spoken in an anti-slavery meeting at the North. He would confess that he had himself travelled as a slave. He had been called upon to speak on the subject, but he had shrunk from coming forward. He had himself been fettered with the bonds of slavery. But he had made up his mind that that was not a profitable course of conduct. According to the proverb, it was as well to be hung for an old sheep as a lamb; and he had found that, at the South, he was doomed to be hung at any rate, and so he was going to speak out. (Laughter and applause.) He felt that he could congratulate the audience that they were free, if not from the terror of the mob, at least from the terror of the law. In Baltimore, when he touched the subject, slaveholder's son as he was, he was in danger of incarceration among murderers and thieves. Yes, every time he raised his pen on the subject of slavery, the law of Maryland made him liable to ten years' imprisonment. But he had made up his mind that he would have his say in this State, not rashly, but calmly, and from a sense of duty; and he had it, not only in his paper, but before public audiences. If there were any reporters present, he hoped they would do him the justice to say that he did not speak thus because he had got rid of the bonds of slavery, and had nothing to hinder him. His reverend friend, Mr. Colver, had done a pretty good sort of business in talking there that morning. In one thing, however, he feared he would be disappointed. If he should insist on sending the Bible down among the slaves, he would find all the masters adopting the Catholic doctrine, that the Bible was not to be read, at least not without note or comment. (Laughter.)

One thing he wished to say, and he hoped it would be received with kindness, though he was a young man, and perhaps ought not to give advice. One of the greatest troubles with the anti-slavery men at the South, who are like John the Baptist crying in the wilderness of slavery, was the quarrels and squabbles among anti-

slavery men. Let it be their determination to avoid the same in the future.

A VOICE—There is no quarrelling with us!

Dr. Snodgrass supposed that it was understood to what he alluded.

For himself, he hailed all who were struggling for the downfall of slavery as brothers and sisters, no matter by what name they were called. Let there be only union amongst them, and the hated institution would be overthrown.

The difficulty in the North was now not so much the condition of the slave as of the free man of color. He feared their Northern friends overlooked this matter in their agitation of the subject. When, in Baltimore, he urged emancipation upon slaveholders as a duty, he was pointed, with a triumphant air, to those poor, miserable creatures, the free people of color, whom the tyranny of the counties had driven into the alleys and by-ways of the city, "Shall we liberate our slaves, while freemen are in such a miserable condition?" This was the question. The only answer he could give was, that this was not so much an individual matter, but a great general question of races. Should this race, which was created to be something more than toiling drudges on plantations, be elevated? It was a question of races, and not of individual convenience. The friends of the slave must see to it that this obstacle was removed. The fact was, that it would be removed. Let the condition of the free man of color be elevated, and then they would have examples to point to of what the Negro race might become out of slavery. It was time to bring his remarks to an end, but one thing he must say: he hoped to God, the time would come when men would appear from Maryland, not as the representatives of a slave State, but of a free State; and when New York might shake hands with Maryland, with a shout of triumph, "Maryland, too, is free!" (Great applause.)

The Rev. EBENEZER DAVIES (missionary at British Guiana) next addressed the meeting, being introduced by the chairman in a few pertinent remarks. The reverend gentleman said: I am a missionary, and an anti-slavery missionary, and every missionary ought to be an anti-slavery missionary, or stay at home! The greater portion of my congregation are colored people—those who were once in bondage; and I may say that the best portion of

my congregation are the colored people. I do not mean merely the largest portion, but the *best* portion—the most industrious, devoted, pious, religiously active. Yet they were once in bondage. And is it not strange, exceedingly strange, to hear it objected, that if these people are made free they will not be able to take care of themselves? Our people take care of themselves, and they take care of their pastors. They take care of me; and it is not a poor care, as you may judge. [Laughter.] I am not reduced to a mere shadow! [The reverend gentleman is a fine, robust, healthy specimen of a man, and this sally excited much merriment.] I have always been very much surprised to hear objections to freedom of this kind. It has also been often asked, “When they are made free, do you not find them very rude and insolent?” No class of people on the face of the earth, of the same standing in life, are so polite, so truly polite, as are our emancipated people in British Guiana. I have also been often asked, “Are they not very indolent?” No! “Do they not refuse to work?” No! There is no people more disposed than they to labor. But then it is asked, “If they are willing to labor, how is it that the planters are complaining of the want of laborers?” In reference to this, two or three things should be borne in mind. In the time of slavery, the wife as well as the husband engaged in labor. But the black man loves his wife. He loved her always—no less, now that he can clasp her to his bosom, a free woman! [Loud applause.] Now he wishes her to remain at home, to take care of the house and the children. She is therefore withdrawn, and very properly, too, from the labor of the field. In this we rejoice, yea, and we will rejoice. Then, again, the people made free occupy cottages which are the property of those who were their masters. Now that they are deprived of the whip, the masters make these cottages the means of forcing compliance with their exorbitant terms. Summary ejections often take place, and then the poor black man must flee to the country, where he can obtain a place to live. Then, of course, the planters call out for want of laborers. Again: the next thing attempted was a reduction of wages. The wages were already too small. Thirty-three cents a day for seven hours toil beneath that burning sun, and on that heavy soil, was all that the master paid. It was attempted to reduce this to seventeen cents, by the importation of “Coolies”

from India. But how was the money to be raised to pay for this importation? By taxing their food. A tax of two dollars a barrel was imposed on American flour. Such is a sample of the oppression of the emancipated people. But I am trespassing on your time. [No, no.] I will be happy to give any information which may be asked in regard to my people.

Some questions were then put to Mr. Davies, respecting the condition of the people in British Guiana and the result of emancipation; and from his replies it appeared that the importation of laborers from Africa rather than India, was regarded favorably by the people, though, of course, it was to be feared as another cover for the slave trade.

A VOICE.—How have the emancipated slaves behaved towards the masters; have they killed or wounded any of them?

MR. DAVIES.—They have made a great many false prophets! [Laughter.] Many said, if you make them free, the planters will have their throats cut! The colored people numbered twenty to one of the whites. But there has not been a single instance in which a white throat has been subjected to the surgical operation. [Laughter.] The planters had placed themselves in a dilemma; they must either have their throats cut or be false prophets; and, very wisely, of two evils they chose the least! [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Mr. HENRY BIBB, of Michigan, then addressed the meeting. He gave a most pathetic and touching narrative of his sufferings when in bondage; and in describing the barbarity with which his wife had been treated by his master, under his own eye, excited the deepest feelings of sympathy in his auditory. He concluded by a highly eloquent appeal.

Mr. ARNOLD EUFFUM then made a few remarks, after which the members of the Society proceeded to the annual meeting for the transaction of the business of the Society.

## ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY held a meeting, agreeably to public notification, in the Lecture Room of the Broadway Tabernacle, May 12, 1847, at 10 A. M. In the absence of the President, the chair, by vote of the Society, was occupied by LEWIS TAPPAN, and Rev. Samuel R. Ward was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

On motion, it was

*Resolved*, That S. S. Jocelyn and Wm. E. Whiting, of New York, A. G. Williams, D. Huntington, and A. G. Beman, of Connecticut, and A. Willey, of Maine, be a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

Rev. J. R. Johnson, Rev. A. R. Ward, Rev. Mr. Chaney, D. Huntington, A. Willey, S. Deming, A. Buffum, S. S. Jocelyn, and Mr. Berry, addressed the Society on the general aspect of the cause, the encouraging prospects in different localities, or in support of resolutions introduced or supported by them.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Buffum, and, after discussion, it was adopted.

Whereas the Legislature of Virginia, at its last session, adopted the following resolution, to wit: "*Resolved, unanimously*, That the Government of the United States has no control, directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately, over the insultation of slave and that in taking such control it transcends its legitimate functions, and destroying the internal organization of the sovereignties who created it."

And whereas a popular meeting of citizens of Charleston, South Carolina, after an address from the Hon. John C. Calhoun, re-affirmed the foregoing resolution, as expressing not only the sense of that meeting and of Charleston district, but, as they believe, of the State of South Carolina, and, as they confidently hope, of the whole South.

Therefore, *Resolved, unanimously*, That we respectfully entreat the Senators and Representatives in Congress from all the other States in the Union to co-operate with the Hon. John C. Calhoun, and the Virginia delegation in Congress, in terminating at once and for ever all the connexion heretofore supposed to exist between the Federal Government and the peculiar institutions of the South.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Deming, which, after being amended, was adopted:

*Resolved*, That a premium of fifty dollars be offered by the Executive Committee for the best anti-slavery tract offered, the same to be stereotyped and published for general circulation.

On motion of Mr. Willey, it was

*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Society, it is expedient for a Liberty Party Convention to be held the ensuing autumn, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

The committee on nomination of officers made a report; which, after one or two amendments, was unanimously adopted; and the following is the list of officers for the ensuing year:

ARTHUR TAPPAN, *President*.

F. J. LEMOYNE, M. D., } *Vice Presidents*.  
JAMES G. BIRNEY, }

A. A. PHELPS,\* *Corresponding Secretary*.

C. S. SPERRY, *Recording Secretary*.

W. E. WHITING, *Treasurer*.

\* Mr. Phelps has declined accepting the appointment, on account of increasing ill health.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Arthur Tappan,	S. W. Benedict,
S. S. Jocelyn,	R. G. Williams,
William Jay,	Arnold Buffum,
Lewis Tappan,	Christopher Rush,
Aivan Stewart,	Orange Scott,
A. A. Phelps,	William Lillie,
Wm. Johnson,	J. Warner,
Wm. E. Whiting,	George Whipple,
Luther Lee,	Charles B. Ray,
Samuel E. Cornish,	Samuel Wilde.

## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Joseph Sturge, George Wm. Alexander, Samuel Bowly, John Scoble, and Thomas Harvey, Esqs., Rev. James Carlisle, D.D., and Rev. J. Howard Hinton, of England; Professor Ackerothyke, Utrecht, Holland; Dr. Carové, Frankfort, Germany; M. Isambert, Paris; M. L'Instant, Hayti; W. W. Anderson, Esq., Jamaica; Rev. E. Davies, British Guiana; Rev. John Gallo-way, New Brunswick; John H. Collins, Esq., Illinois; Hon. S. C. Stevens, Indiana; S. P. Chase, Esq., Ohio; Professor Cleveland, Pennsylvania; Ger-rit Smith and William Goodell, New York; Rev. G. W. Perkins, Connecti-cut; Joshua Leavitt and John G. Whittier, Massachusetts; and Austin Willey, Maine.

Adjourned.

Attest:

SAMUEL R. WARD,  
*Rec. Sec. pro tem.*

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

## RECEIVED.

Balance on hand the beginning of the year.....	\$119 41
Subscriptions of members of the Executive Committee,.....	1,187 50
Subscriptions to establish the National Era, publish Tracts, em- ploy agents, &c.....	11,173 49
	<u>12,480 35</u>

## PAID.

Corresponding Secretary, Rev. A. A. Phelps, on account.....	\$1000 00
Office and Business Agent.....	550 00
Office fixtures, &c.....	113 80
Use of Broadway Tabernacle for Anniversary, &c.....	53 00
Travelling expenses of speakers, &c.....	59 02
Printing pamphlets, papers, &c., &c.....	173 26
Printing press, types, paper, editors, agents, printing, &c.....	5,143 08
Outstanding bills.....	800 00
Balance on hand, most of which will be required for the ex- pense of paper, printing, &c., to furnish the Era to those who have paid in advance.....	4,588 19
	<u>12,480 35</u>